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Lloyd. Television "Pres-
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BIRTHDAY

The Peace and Arbit-
peace movement in the
ng its 70th anniversary

Well-known pacifists
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speaking at an interna-
July 27 to August 1

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PEACE NEWS

No. 892

July 31 1953

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WEST EUROPEAN "WAR" ENDS TODAY

Cause: Atomic secrecy

SOME of the 1,800 aircraft involved in "Exercise Coronet" kept Londoners awake at night this week.

After the first news of the manoeuvres in a London evening newspaper last week, the authorities appear to have clamped down on any further information about "Coronet."

Three "powers" are involved in the "war." "Fantasia's" forces consist of the 4th Allied Tactical Air Force, stationed in the American and French Zones of Germany and part of Eastern France.

"Westonia" has the Belgian and Dutch Air Forces and those of the British Zone of Germany.

The third power involved is "Wessex," represented by RAF bombers.

The night air of Western Europe was first disturbed on Thursday of last week when Westonia and Fantasia began deployment and reconnaissance operations after an announcement that war was inevitable following the theft of Fantasia's atomic secrets.

On Saturday war followed preliminary operations. This was followed by a secret from "Wessex" to destroy the war potential of both Fantasia and Westonia unless they stopped the war within 48 hours.

The war is scheduled to end today (Friday) when the belligerents will declare an armistice and pool their forces to defeat Wessex.

No information could be obtained on the cost of these manoeuvres to the taxpayers of Western Europe.

It is possible that further Press comment on the manoeuvres has been withheld because of the absurd premises on which they are based.

Korea: First step towards East-West settlement

The following statement was issued by the National Peace Council on Tuesday:

The National Peace Council, which from the outbreak of hostilities has worked unceasingly for an honourable settlement to the Korean war, records its thankfulness that a truce has now been agreed.

It urges HM Government to make every use of this agreement as the first step towards a durable settlement in the Far East.

The Council further urges HM Government to regard the truce as providing a new opportunity for developing conciliation in the wider field of East-West relations.

Central African Federation

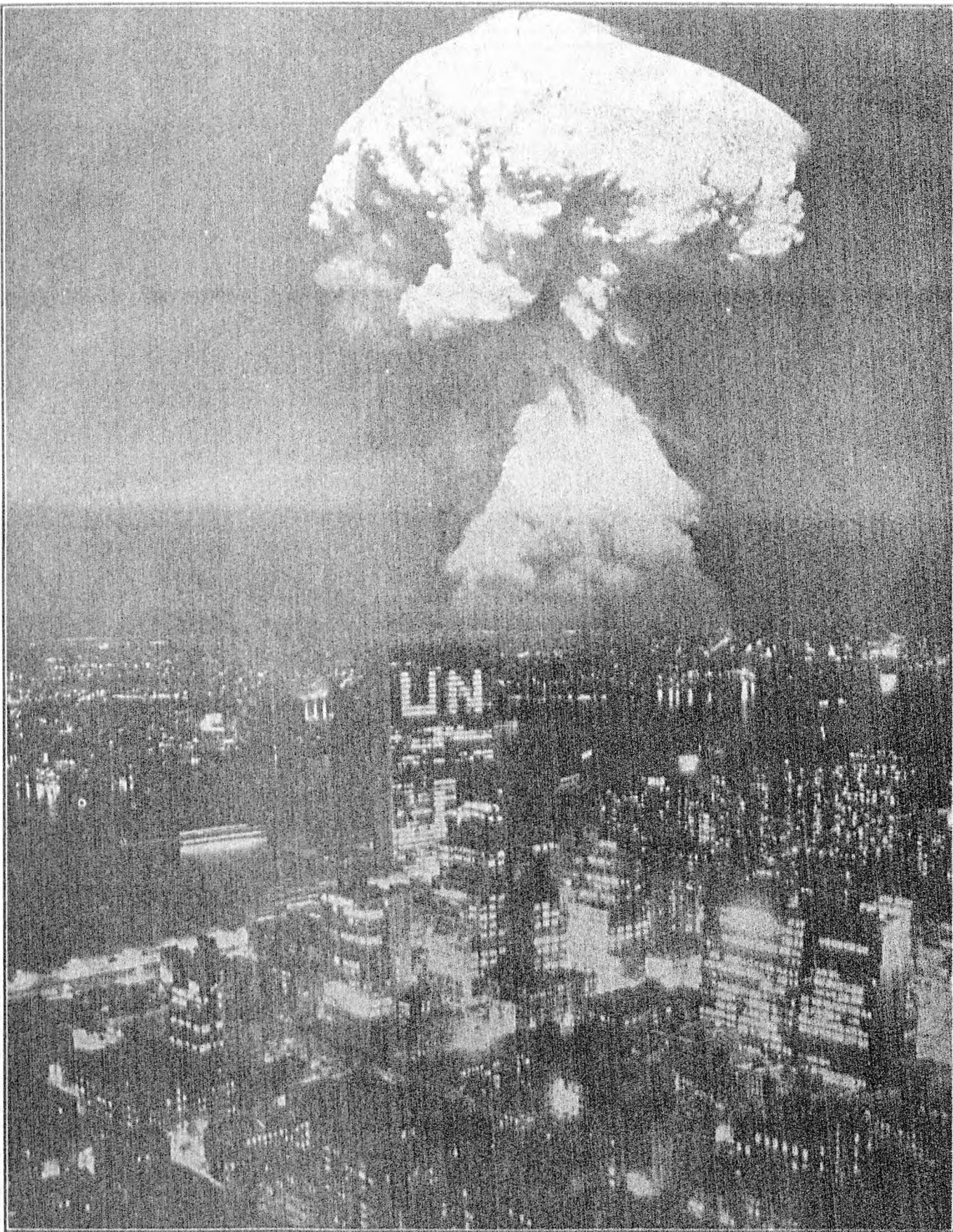
"PROFOUND DISAPPROVAL" —Africa Bureau

The following statement was issued by the Africa Bureau on Monday above the signatures of Lord Hemmingford, Lady Pakenham, Rt. Hon. A. Creech Jones, Mr. John MacCallum Scott, Rev. Michael Scott.

Now that the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Federation Act has been passed through Parliament, the Executive of the Africa Bureau reiterate their profound disapproval of the way in which this inequitable Constitution has been imposed on these territories, only without substantial African support, in the face of genuine and widespread African opposition.

The situation thus created demands all the vigilance by people and organisations in Britain to ensure that any African opposition is not made the occasion for abuses of power by the authorities in Central Africa. The British Parliament must exercise to the responsibility still remaining to it for the upholding and advancing the interests of African people in the territories concerned.

This photograph is a composite — fortunately for the people of New York. It shows what an atomic explosion in Brooklyn might look like to the residents of Manhattan. The United Nations Building stands out in the foreground.



ATOM ANNIVERSARY

Messages from the Mayors of HIROSHIMA and NAGASAKI

City of Hiroshima,
Hiroshima, Japan.

OUR sincere appreciation of good will and sympathy goes to Peace News, whose commendable efforts directed at the protection of mankind from wars are highly respected and appreciated by all of us who still carry memories of the great sufferings that were brought upon us by the Atomic Bomb.

We concur in your brave stand taken against the use of this deadly weapon in your current issue, and it is our hope that what we have suffered will help to form increased popular pressure upon all war-making machinery that now threatens the world with further evils of war.

Our cordial greetings of brotherhood to all of your peace-loving readers.

SHUNZO HAMAI,
Mayor of Hiroshima.

Nagasaki City Hall,
Nagasaki, Japan.

WITH the coming round of the eighth anniversary of the atomic raid on Nagasaki, the sad memory of the dire calamities they suffered eight years ago is refreshed in the hearts of Nagasakians.

I am sure you are aware that the people of Nagasaki have devoted themselves to the establishment of a world peace. If they are successful, with the co-operation of the British people and all other peoples of the world who earnestly desire an end to war, it will have been worth the sacrifice of so many tens of thousands of their fellow citizens and their properties to this cause.

I am delighted that—in full accord with the citizens of Nagasaki who aspire after a solid world peace—Peace News has been making every effort to achieve that great end.

TSUTOMU TAGAWA,
Mayor of Nagasaki City.

RACIAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

UN to hear pacifist

IT was learned this week that the United Nations Commission on South Africa has acceded to the request of Mr. Tom Wardle to appear before it.

Mr. Wardle, a journalist on the staff of Peace News, applied earlier this month for permission to give oral testimony before the Commission after an announcement that evidence on the racial situation in South Africa was being sought by the UN.

At a meeting in London called by the Crusade for World Government as part of its campaign to bring representatives of the people into UN, Tom Wardle explained the purpose of his application.

The meeting which was attended by delegates from 22 peace, church and trade union organisations, agreed to ask their organisations to endorse Mr. Wardle's request.

After four years' stay in South Africa, where he worked as a welfare worker and journalist

on an Indian newspaper, Mr. Wardle returned to Britain last year. Since that time he has been engaged in widespread lecturing on race relations and Colonial affairs.

Mr. Wardle, who has already submitted a memorandum on South Africa to the Commission will appear before it in Geneva on August 8, for the hearing.

On World Peace Day

Distribution of the airmail edition of this issue of Peace News will take place in conjunction with a Hiroshima Day street meeting and poster walk in New York City August 6. The street meeting will be held in front of New York University in downtown Washington Square, Manhattan, and the poster walk will be along crowded 14th Street. Co-sponsors of the project are NY War Resisters League, Peacemakers, Catholic Worker and NY Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Special church services have been arranged in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Stamford Hill 2262 (three lines)

31st July, 1953

WAR AND THE SCIENTISTS

THE most pitiful comment in the whole course of the Korean war was surely that reported in Time of a 22-year-old airman, David Tatum, who, speaking of operations over unarmed villages, said:

"I imagine that if we have to kill ten civilians in order to kill one soldier who might later fire on us, we are justified."

The recent BBC broadcast by Mr. John Perret on "Science and Responsibility," constantly brought back the thought of that young airman. It, too, gave the impression of a painful struggle through special pleading and evasion to get rid of a burden of guilt.

Mr. Perret is engaged in medical research but spoke at length about the atom bomb, the gist of his case being this:

Science is neutral. We use it to good or evil ends according to our nature. The decision whether or not to use the atom bomb for destruction in war rests with the democratic will.

Because the decision to use the bomb rested with the electorate it would be anti-democratic and wrong for all scientists to refuse to engage in research for the production of the atom bomb.

The only condition under which mankind can continue to exist is "Love thy neighbour as thyself." The threat comes from human nature; it is necessary that we all undergo a complete change of outlook.

As things stand we must go on developing the power of atomic destruction: "We cannot risk destroying our own war potential while leaving our less scrupulous neighbours in possession of theirs."

The dropping of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Mr. Perret holds to be justified; he even offers calculations to show that it was a policy of humanity by means of which 1,900,000 Japanese lives were saved as well as an equal number of the lives of allied soldiers.

All right! Let Mr. Perret answer this: Is he willing (democracy having decided that it shall be done) himself to do to some town what was done to Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

Mr. Perret suggests that the "man in the street," much as he detests and fears war, "does not regard death as the greatest possible evil."

We hope and believe that to be true. It is however pronouncements such as Mr. Perret's and the deliberate moral obscurantism of the politicians that suggest a doubt. Of course death is not the greatest possible evil; a far greater evil to face is the fact that one has a life to live after one has inflicted death on a hundred thousand unarmed people, and cruel suffering on many more, as did those unhappy young men who flew to Japan with the atom bombs.

It is important for their future that the peoples of the world shall be called upon to answer this question of the greater evil before they have been conditioned by the politicians, journalists and broadcasters to the acceptance of the appalling act of cowardice involved in seeking personal, or national, safety through the use of the atom bomb.

Any nation that is convinced that its life is worth saving at any cost of moral degradation, that is ready to load itself with the guilt of atom and hydrogen bombing, has gone far on the way to surrender any claim to the moral worth that would justify its continued existence.

It is urged that if one endorses the use of any lethal weapon one has by such an endorsement justified the use of all. We do not believe this. It is true that we take the pacifist view of war, but we believe that there is something seriously lacking in the moral character of him who holds that there is nothing that distinguishes the action of the man who goes out armed prepared to kill other men who are armed against him, from that of the man who is ready to kill children in a school playground.

That we cannot now make a practical distinction in warfare between the weapons of the nineteenth century and those of the twentieth because we know it is the latter that will be used in war is quite true.

That is why there are numbers of people, not pacifists in the traditional sense, who know that today, like pacifists, they must renounce war; and we believe that it is the scientists, who are asked to provide the things that no decent man can consent to use, who should be taking the lead in this matter.

Korean Armistice

ON one thing only can we feel any great sense of satisfaction about the signing of the Korean Armistice: the senseless slaughter over the disposition of the contending lines that has gone on day by day for two years while the armistice talks have been in progress, or in suspension, has been brought to an end.

All the politicians are now trying to convince the world, and themselves, that something of substance has been achieved at the cost of all this destruction and cruelty. But every one knows that this is not so.

Sir Gladwyn Jebb remarks that "the enduring significance of the armistice is that aggression has been shown not to pay."

Mr. Dulles comments: "We have established the fact that collective security is not just an ideal but is something that works."

The British Labour Party issues a statement to say: "The determination of the United Nations has put into practice for the first time in history the principle of collective security against aggression."

Nothing of this self-congratulation is justified.

We have yet to see whether the armistice is to have any "enduring significance" at all.

We have to wait and find out whether Dr. Syngman Rhee will permit this: and if, as is likely, he does not, we shall be in a better position in the light of what follows to estimate the extent to which the Korean war has been fought on the basis of "the principle of collective security against aggression."

The South Korean Ministers' references to the undertakings given to Dr. Rhee by Mr. Robertson on behalf of President Eisenhower have been covered over. Both sides have apparently tacitly agreed to ignore them, and this is all to the good if the armistice can be transformed into a peace treaty without a renewal of fighting. It is evident, however, that undertakings have been given and that these undertakings have nothing to do with the fact that collective security is "something that works" in showing that aggression does not pay.

We shall do well to await the completion of the Korean tragedy before we pronounce on whether it has established a principle bearing any resemblance to collective security; and even then we shall need to take steps to make

ourselves more fully acquainted with what happened in June, 1950, before we regard the Korean war as the kind of thing to be looked for in exemplification of the value of the United Nations.

The Food for East Germany

THE U.S. Government is proceeding with the distributing of the 15 million dollars' worth of food that was offered to the East German Government and refused.

Nobody, even among the recipients, will take the view that this is being done out of greatness of heart; the political motivation is too obvious. Nevertheless as there is evident need in East Germany, the East German Government, and the Russian Government

ATOMIC

*The little Key of magic casket lid,
Where burning wonder of the glowing core
Was from the eyes of generations hid,
Is on Love's holy girdle held no more.*

*Restore to Girdled Love the Holy Key!
We are not able for this bursting flame,
Too prone we are to demon ecstasy,
With pride we prosper in the Devil's name.*

FRANCIS ANDREWS.

behind it, were clearly placed in a cleft stick when the offer was made. Acceptance meant the acceptance of the fact that America was able to help Eastern Europe out of its troubles; rejection meant that the German workers had to pay in unsatisfied needs for resentment felt by its Government at the offer.

The fact that America feels the need to enlist support by this kind of bribe, and

McCarthy's "hatchet man" — and others

FOR some time I have been planning to join the host of writers speculating on the meaning and causes of recent events in the Soviet sphere such as the deposition of L. P. Beria from his exalted post.

Before undertaking to do that, I feel that I must pass on to Peace News readers news of a somewhat startling report which has just come from Washington.

It appears that on June 8, Norman Thomas, the Socialist leader who, to the great regret of some of us, grows less radical by the day, wrote a letter to Mr. Scott McLeod, head of the U.S. State Department security system.

This position Mr. McLeod holds by grace of Senator McCarthy, whose "hatchet man" he is in Mr. Dulles' domain.

Mr. Thomas explained to Mr. McLeod that he was often asked for advice by young Socialists wanting to enter Government service, and said he felt it would be advantageous for the State Department to employ such Socialists, especially in posts where they would be dealing with Socialist Governments abroad. Did Mr. McLeod agree with this proposal?

It seems Mr. McLeod did not and said so in a letter sent to Norman Thomas on July 14 and made public by the State Department's chief Press officer a week later.

The guardian of the nation's security did not question the loyalty of Socialists and expressed admiration for Mr. Thomas personally. But he would not knowingly permit a Socialist to be employed in a policy position, because he simply felt "that it would be impossible for a Socialist to make or influence policy in a manner which would carry out the intentions of President Eisenhower and the Republican Administration."

The State Department, in his opinion, did not need Socialists in order to deal successfully with Socialist Governments, "any more than I feel it necessary to employ Communists to conduct our negotiations with the Soviet Union." Maybe Mr. McLeod doesn't know his American Socialists or possibly he knows them better than Norman Thomas. Either way, it's a little sad.

Turning to the question of what is going on behind the Iron Curtain, I went out on a limb in an article published about four weeks ago in one of our American periodicals and suggested that, unlikely as it might be, it was still possible that, following Stalin's death, the key leaders in Moscow would make a serious attempt to develop a collective leadership rather than follow the Stalin one-man leadership pattern.

I did not mean that the leadership would drastically modify the totalitarian pattern of dealing with the masses—that seems to me another, though somewhat related matter.

The chief ground on which I based the suggestion that we should not hastily and categorically rule out the collective leadership hypothesis, is one to which I have so far seen no reference whatever in the fairly voluminous reports and analyses which I have read.

It has to do with the relation between Moscow and Peking, Malenkov and Co. and Mao.

It is to me inconceivable that Mao should accept a position in the Communist hierarchy inferior to one of the successors of Stalin.

The choice, then, is one of a bitter struggle for power between Moscow and Peking, Malenkov and Co. and Mao, or of the development of a new pattern for totalitarian control, a collective leadership which, since it would have to include both Malenkov

LETTER FROM U.S.A.

By A. J. Murte

and Mao, would be more "internationalist," less Russian nationalist, in character than the Stalin regime.

I realise, of course, that it is possible to argue that the Beria episode refutes this theory and plainly means that the "inevitable" grand battle for designation of Stalin's successor according to the Stalinist pattern broke out the moment Stalin was entombed. But this is not a necessary conclusion.

It is also possible to argue—and I still incline that way—that Beria was liquidated because he would not go along with the collective leadership idea and the other two power centres, the Party and the Army, were determined that it must be tried. It is even conceivable that in the absence of hearty co-operation on Beria's part in implementing this policy, Party and Army leaders took a strong initiative in reducing the power of the security arm of the regime. The attempt of the Russian secret police to dominate the regular police, Party and Army even in satellite countries has been a source of irritation, as the Tito revolt showed. The price of developing a leadership both more collective and less narrowly Russian, may conceivably be the kind of drastic reorganisation of the Russian secret police system which Beria was or was thought to be unwilling to carry out.

Again, surface appearances seem to cast doubt on this analysis. They have led most commentators to hold that Beria's policy was to play up lesser nationalities in the Soviet complex against the "Great Russians" and that the latter eliminated him, a Georgian as Stalin had been, in the interest of reasserting "Great Russian" domination. But this also is conjecture. Beria may not have been following the course which he tried to make it appear he was following.

However, my main concern in all this is to suggest that more attention be paid to the Moscow-Peking relationship. It is my firm conviction that the basic line of both is to stay together, that it is an illusion to suppose a real wedge can be driven between them, and that it is this geo-political, power-political and cultural fact which is likely to be decisive in determining both the foreign policy of the two countries and the eventual pattern of the internal Communist structure.

BEHIND THE NEWS

that Russia and the Russian satellites feel on their side that they dare not accept food for the people in such circumstances is an indication of the fragility of the claims of both to have the support of the peoples to whom they appeal.

Perhaps the best comment on this business came from Mr. Adlai Stevenson, Democratic Candidate for the American Presidency, when speaking at a press conference in Paris suggested that it would be a misfortune if East Germans got the impression that the United States was saying "Well done, boys now here's a can of beans."

Nevertheless it would do something to sweeten international relations if help of the kind offered in East Germany could be accepted at its face value and the ulterior motives ignored. In such a case this would in fact be the best way to neutralise the operation of these motives. The East German Government's refusal just plays into the hands of the American Government in exacerbating bad relationships.

The C.I.A.

TO what extent are Eisenhower, John Foster Dulles, and brother Allen Dulles, chiefly through the US Central Intelligence Agency headed by the latter, carrying out schemes for "liberation" of satellite peoples by stirring up revolts among them?

To suggest that a good deal of this is going on—and we think there is—is obviously not to say that there are no grievances for the C.I.A. to work on.

It was highly significant that when Senator McCarthy himself recently tried to bring the CIA official before his Committee for questioning, Allan Dulles stood his ground against doing anything which might lay CIA activities open to the public gaze. Eisenhower backed him up and McCarthy subsided, even though the man he wanted to question, Wm. Burnham, was a son-in-law of Dean Acheson, former Secretary of State, and what McCarthy wanted to question him about was a \$400 contribution some years ago to the Alger Hiss defence fund!

Lyttelton and Uganda

WITH his capacity for putting his foot in it and promoting bad feeling around, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton is becoming the McCarthy of the British Conservative Party.

In suggesting an East African federation (he did in London last week), the Colonial Secretary emphasised his insensibility to the deliberate disregard of African opinion when it is not the opinion of the White settlers.

People of Uganda and Tanganyika have been quick to dispel any conception that they are interested in Mr. Lyttelton's Rhodanese visions. From Uganda National Congress last week came a note making public the Congress attitude towards the Government restrictions on the entry of Kikuyu people into Uganda. There have been cases of Kikuyu seeking asylum in Uganda and the Uganda Congress says it believes the door should not be closed to them in their hour of tribulation.

The Congress also says that the public opinion of Uganda was "not consulted or even invited" when the decision to employ Uganda troops to help put down the Emergency in Kenya was taken.

Debate on COs

THERE was a noticeable difference in the tone and temper of the debate on conscientious objectors in the House of Commons on Thursday last week and that which preceded it, on unemployment benefit.

In the earlier debate the scoring of points and vocal expressions of partisan feelings were in evidence. In the later one was evidence of a genuine desire on sides of the House to deal fairly with whose principles have come to be respected even when they are not shared.

It is true that the Secretary of State for War, watching the debate for a time, raised his feet from the table to make two or three shrewd debating points and that Lieutenant Commander Maydon referred to the "extraordinary conceit" of the pacifist and used the war service of the Society of Friends as an argument for compulsory alternative service for conscientious objectors (with which, by the way, the Society of Friends would strongly disagree on principle). But the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, in replying to the debate, brushed aside any temptation to mere debating points and seemed genuinely anxious to show that the Ministry was trying to do the right thing by the COs.

The Secretary of the Central Board of Conscientious Objectors, Bernard Withers, a member of his executive committee, who was able to secure seats under the new arrangement by only a low barrier from the members of the House so that they could hear Fenner Brockway, M.P., and Victor Yates, M.P., during the progress of the debate.

Fenner Brockway is to be congratulated upon obtaining two hours of Parliamentary time and upon his urbane conduct of the debate and Victor Yates upon the telling effective way in which he gained the ear of the House (and hit some of the headlines) by his amazing anecdotes from the tribunals, the tangible result of the debate will be that at least one tribunal member will be in danger of losing his seat.

For the most part, Mr. Harold Watkinson reiterated the Ministry's previous policy which rests in many respects upon administrative procedure rather than statutory directions these directions continues the policy of the previous Government.

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CONSCRIPTION FOR 5 MORE YEARS?

TELL YOUR M.P. TO

OPPOSE ITS RENEWAL

YOU CAN END IT!

New Quaker peace poster, 6d. post free from Friends' Peace Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

END CALL-UP: M.P.s WERE SYMPATHETIC

REPORTS from all parts of Britain of action to secure the ending of conscription are reaching Peace News.

Approaches to MPs, either by letter or deputation, have been made at Bow, Bradford, Clacton-on-Sea, Farnham, Folkestone, Hampstead, Kingston-on-Thames, Leiston, Peterborough, Sutton and Worthing.

In Middlesbrough, Quakers have rented a public hoarding for posters and are planning a public meeting in the autumn.

After the festival

A festival of the arts at Barnstaple, featuring such distinguished pacifists as Ronald Duncan, Benjamin Britten and Peter Pears, was followed by an open-air meeting organised by the North Devon Pacifist Group on July 20.

Kate Spurrell, the Peace Pledge Union's Area Secretary, arrested the attention of holidaymakers with her call for an end to the call-up. Winifred Boyle, Secretary of the Westward Ho! PPU Group, selling Peace News, and Sam Walsh, of Torrington, were among local pacifists supporting the meeting.

Bentham (Yorks) Quakers have distributed a handbill to every house entitled "Do you Really Want Conscription for Another Five Years?" On it appeared an announcement of an open discussion on the subject and several challenging questions, reports the Friend.

Together with Quakers in Settle and Lancaster they are sending letters to the press which will be followed with paid advertisements.

Secretaries of political parties in the

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METHODIST PEACE RALLY

"We've got the others on the run"—Dr. SOPER

From TREVOR WADSWORTH

BY their refusal "to sunder religion from democracy and Socialism, as it has been sundered almost all over the continent of Europe," and their success in avoiding a complete divorce between religion and the modern scientific and intellectual outlook, the people of Great Britain had today an unequalled responsibility and opportunity," Canon C. E. Raven, President of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, told a great gathering at Birmingham on July 20, at the annual Methodist Conference rally of the Methodist Peace Fellowship.

Nearly 500 people—many sitting on chairs which were placed in the aisles—were welcomed by Dr. Donald Soper, the Methodists' second successive pacifist President, who an hour before had been elected President of the MPF in place of the late Rev. Percy Ineson.

The Church and South Africa

Canon Raven deplored the fact that, in the face of the situation in Africa, the Christian Church was "still contentedly devoting most of its deliberations and a vast amount of its interest to debating questions about the appointment of ministers." That at a time when the tremendous tension between white and coloured peoples was reaching a point at which, if we refrained from action, it might become—humanly speaking—insoluble.

The USA and Russia

"Nor can we acquiesce in the facile solution which sees the tension between the United States and Russia in terms of a conflict on a chessboard, when all the white pieces are on one side and all the black pieces on the other.

"It is a ridiculous notion that all East of the 'Iron Curtain' is diabolic and that the American way of life is synonymous with the Kingdom of Heaven—and I have heard that pursued, not only in America!

"The whole position in Russia has become fluid and transformed—and we are still niggling and bargaining, timid and aggressive, when we should be taking the opportunity to speak a word of reconciliation in the name of Christ," said Canon Raven.

Hiroshima and Belsen

Today, war was no longer capable of being regarded as under any circumstances "just"; the old distinctions that the scholastic and mediaeval Church sought to maintain were no longer possible.

"No human being except those with a completely distorted sense of values can seriously attempt to justify Hiroshima, any more than he can justify Belsen."

After speaking of the growth of pacifism in the Methodist Church, Dr. Soper said its case once had to be presented on scanty evidence. But today pacifists were able to look any argument in the face and from his own experience he knew there was an increasing eagerness to listen, and a turning in despair from arguments which, only a few years ago, still held sway.

History fighting for us

"To put it in the jargon of Tower Hill—I think we've got the others on the run. The very facts of history are now beginning to fight for us, although that does not undermine or undervalue that which is the heart of the pacifist faith."

The Rev. G. E. Hickman Johnson, vice-chairman of the MPF and a former missionary in India, outlined an alternative to arms by describing the peaceful liberation of India from British rule under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi's technique of non-violent resistance.

Brentwood (Essex) area have received letters expressing the opposition of local Quakers.

Leaflets on the Christian approach to conscription have been distributed to ministers in Colwyn Bay.

In Trafalgar Square again

Sybil Morrison, PPU National Chairman is to speak at Portsmouth. The PPU will also hold a big rally in Trafalgar Square in mid-October.

A member of the PPU Campaign Committee, Mr. L. J. Cuning, has been appointed organising secretary of the No Conscription Council in succession to Lt-Col Reid Collins.

Like his predecessor at the NCC, Mr. Cuning is an ex-serviceman.

MPs were sympathetic

Four members of Mansfield Peace Group, with the help of two friends, collected a total of over 150 signatures to the No Conscription Council's petition recently.

The signatures were sent, together with letters asking for a vote against the renewal of the Military Service Act, to four local Labour MPs, two of whom replied sympathetically.

In Llanelli, 1,105 signatures against conscription have been collected by the local Folk Group.

Questions Please!

THE July issue of Reconciliation* contains a new feature.

Each month the Rev. R. C. Wood, who is minister of the Congregational Church at Kingston-on-Thames, will try to answer questions from readers. He promises to meet frankly the objections of those who are not pacifists (and hopes that if they find him avoiding the issue or putting up false arguments they will not hesitate to say so), and to provide a strengthening diet for those who are pacifists already.

He makes a start with "In the last resort we would fight even if we had no arms, to save the lives of loved ones and the sanctities of home. Is it not much more logical and practical to make preparations and so avoid much suffering and loss?" He certainly cannot be accused of trying to dodge the fire.

*The Fellowship of Reconciliation, 29 Great James St., W.C.1. 6d.

Briefly . . .

The documentary film, "Mahatma Gandhi—Twentieth Century Prophet," is not yet available for distribution, says the American Academy of Asian Studies, who are handling the film. Groups who are interested in the purchase of a copy are advised to write and place an order. The address is 2030 Broadway, San Francisco 15, California.

The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors reports that a serving airman was referred to them for advice by the John Hilton Bureau of the News of the World.

A Group of the Peace Pledge Union has been formed in Hemel Hempstead. Interested people are asked to contact Brian Potts, 18 Rant Meadow.

Peace News will be on sale in Bucharest during the forthcoming Youth Festival. A report from our correspondent in Bucharest will be published in the August 14 issue.

Electoral canvassers in South Africa have been instructed not to register any non-white voters in the general registration that begins today. Coloured voters who want their names to appear on the new roll will have to register themselves.

This seems to be an indication of the optimism of the Government that its present attempt to remove the few Cape coloured voters from the common electoral roll will be successful.

Central London and Kingsway Groups of the Fellowship of Reconciliation are to cover all major churches in central London with a leaflet distribution.

JULY 31, 1953, PEACE NEWS—3

THE TOUGH TIME



It happens every year about this time. If you've had the fascination of reading Peace News Annual Report you'll see that it's largely the Christmas cards that keep us in business. That seems appropriate enough. But Christmas only comes, even to peace-lovers, once a year. Until we have universal celebration of all the holy days, Diwali, Eid, the Passover, or until we break into the birthday greeting racket, we're always going to be a little thin on funds at this date each year.

The brute fact: at June 30 we were £180 short on our budgeted income from this appeal.

Take a look at this issue. There are going to be three British atom-bomb tests in Australia this year. Most of the Press thinks it's a marvellous thing. Isn't it important that under such circumstances Peace News should get around to a wider readership? Must Lord Beaverbrook have it all his own way?

Peace News' international circulation is growing. We could fill a dozen pages with news of peace every week, but we haven't got the cash. We dream of being able to expand the paper in 1954. To prevent the dream becoming a nightmare we want now £180; before the end of the year a total of £1,000.

Ways to help: Distributors, please settle accounts promptly. Subscribers, please renew promptly. Everyone, help to keep our heads above water in 1953.

TOM WARDLE.

Contributions since July 17: £91 7s. 4d.

Total for 1953 £448 5s. 11d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.A.

From Japan to Paris

DELEGATIONS from National Sections of many countries, including Japan, will meet in Paris on August 4 for the XII International Congress held since the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was founded in 1915.

The official business of the Congress includes the election of the League's Officers and of its Executive Committee. Readers of Peace News are probably aware that Miss Emily Greene Balch, Nobel Peace Prize winner, is the International President of the WILPF.

The "theme" of this Congress is "DISARM THE WORLD TO BUILD THE WORLD" and the agenda for this part of the meetings includes surveys of the American, Far Eastern and European Regions, memoranda on peaceful ways and means of settling disputes and on the possibilities of internationalising the Polar Regions and essential waterways. "Plans for Action" and "the WILPF and the world that is to be built" will no doubt develop the League's international policy for the coming three years.

Resolutions to be moved deal, *inter alia*, with Refugees, Race Relations, and the conditions for admission to the United Nations. D. W.

James Avery Joyce writes from Switzerland on—

DEMOCRACY AT GENEVA

AT Geneva the United Nations European Headquarters has never been so busy as during the month of July, when the Economic and Social Council of the UN, with its many committees and sub-committees, holds its summer session.

A new form of world-wide democracy is growing up under the banner of the United Nations, without fuss or undue publicity. For, while ECOSOC has been speaking for the Governments, and getting through a loaded Agenda, covering everything from Full Employment to the Status of Women, another conference has been meeting alongside it, representing the people at large.

The Conference of Non-Governmental Organisations—NGOs for short—may have an unattractive title, but its programme is hardly less important than that of the ECOSOC umbrella under which it meets.

Voice of millions

Already over 150 international bodies compose this Conference, which is growing rapidly in size and influence from year to year. Several of these NGOs have world-wide memberships, running into many millions. Consider some of them: the International Co-operative Alliance, the World's YWCA and the World Alliance of YMCAs, the International Chamber of Commerce, the World Jewish Congress, the International Council of Women, the International Federation of Business and Professional Women, the World Federation of United Nations Associations, the World Veterans Federation and the League of Red Cross Societies.

The organised workers of the world are formidably represented by the two leading rival organisations, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions, as well as by other strong workers groups, such as the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions.

Alongside these giants—some with 40 or 50 national sections—are a variety of specialist bodies like the World Medical Association, the

International Institute of Administrative Sciences and the World Calendar Association.

All these NGOs have been brought into consultation with ECOSOC and its various committees. They are "consulted" on many topics, ranging from Human Rights and the Freedom of Trade to Maternity Welfare and Technical Assistance to under-developed areas. In fact, these NGOs are slowly becoming a sort of World Parliament, whose delegates actually take their seats on the floor of the Council Hall and, under certain conditions, they may address the main council of ECOSOC and discuss their particular problems in the various committees behind the scenes.

But where is the organised peace movement in this set-up? Hardly anywhere! The Women's International League is represented—and vocal. But where are the rest of us?

A silent revolution is in process. The people of the world are learning to speak to each other over the heads of their national Governments. At the moment of writing this article, for example, while ECOSOC is trying to agree on principles of equal rights between men and women, quite a dozen women's organisations, covering millions of members between them, are lobbying for their programme to be embodied in the UN resolutions and sent back to the Governments for action.

Will the UN ever shift its Headquarters from the turbulent atmosphere of New York to this pre-eminently world-city, where the Palace of the Nations was actually built, before the war came upon us, for the works of peace? That is a question which many of the participants here have been asking as they look ahead to the next phase of international co-operation.

Geneva is already the permanent home of the I.L.O., the WHO, and the other vital organs of the United Nations. Ever more peace-making activities tend to move to Geneva as technical assistance gets under way for the backward areas of the world. Events are here pushing Governments closer together on the things that really matter.

While the bitterness of so-called "security" measures pervades the steel and glass corridors of New York, is not the gentler air of Geneva providing a more suitable climate for the Parliament of Man?

THE BEGINNING

"It was hard to believe what we saw."

In these words Col. Paul W. Tibbets, pilot of the Super-Fort which on Monday dropped the first atom bomb on Japan, described the result of the explosion which shook Hiroshima.

He was awarded the Distinguished Flying Medal immediately he returned from the raid.

—Daily Herald, August 8, 1945.

The Japanese Radio's first report

"The atom bomb literally scared to death the killed. all living things—human and animal—in Hiroshima."

"The power of the destruction of the atom bomb is beyond words. When buildings were hit by the atrocious bomb, every living being outside simply vanished into air because of the heat. The amount of destruction is indescribable. It is not possible to distinguish the men from the women among able..."

From the London Evening Standard, August 8, 1945

"ATOM BOMB raid No. 2 was made on Japan at 4 a.m. today. Target was the great naval base of Nagasaki, city of 230,000 people. General Spaatz, the US air commander, describes results as 'excellent.'"

"If the Nagasaki Bomb has had the same effect as Atom Bomb No. 1 had on Hiroshima in Monday's raid it will have devastated more than four square miles of built-up area and will have killed and wounded an estimated total of 200,000 Japanese."

"Casualties in the heaviest German raid on Britain—which was on London on the night of April 16-17, 1941—were 1,720 killed and about 2,500 seriously injured."



NAGASAKI

The results were "excellent."

Twenty years after?

A few weeks after the dropping of the atom bombs in 1945, *Picture Post*, a British illustrated weekly, interviewed Sir John Anderson, who as Lord President of the Council had presided over British research into the atom bomb. Although his words have no doubt long since been forgotten, they have an ironic reality today.

MAJOR LEWIS HASTINGS (*Picture Post* representative): "It is the danger lurking in the thing that is worrying people. There's one apparent consequence in particular which I'd like to ask you about. All modern technical developments seem to me to hasten a process which has already gone very far—I mean they tend to put enormous power into the hands of a very small instructed minority (*Picture Post* emphasis). This 'harnessing of the basic power of the Universe' as it's been called—the use of atomic fission increases this power immensely. Isn't there a great danger in that to our sort of democracy?"

SIR JOHN ANDERSON: That depends a great deal on whether a method can be developed to safeguard the use of this thing in the future. It is at present beyond the resources of many Powers to exploit; the costs of the material are prohibitive. That in itself is some sort of safeguard. At the same time, I don't think anyone can tell what future developments may be. But we have time now, while it is the exclusive property of the United States, ourselves and Canada to work out with other nations a plan, if only human ingenuity and good will can meet it.

before the war. It has come because of the stress of war, because of the inducements that war offered to the nations that were prepared to make the enormous efforts required to produce it.

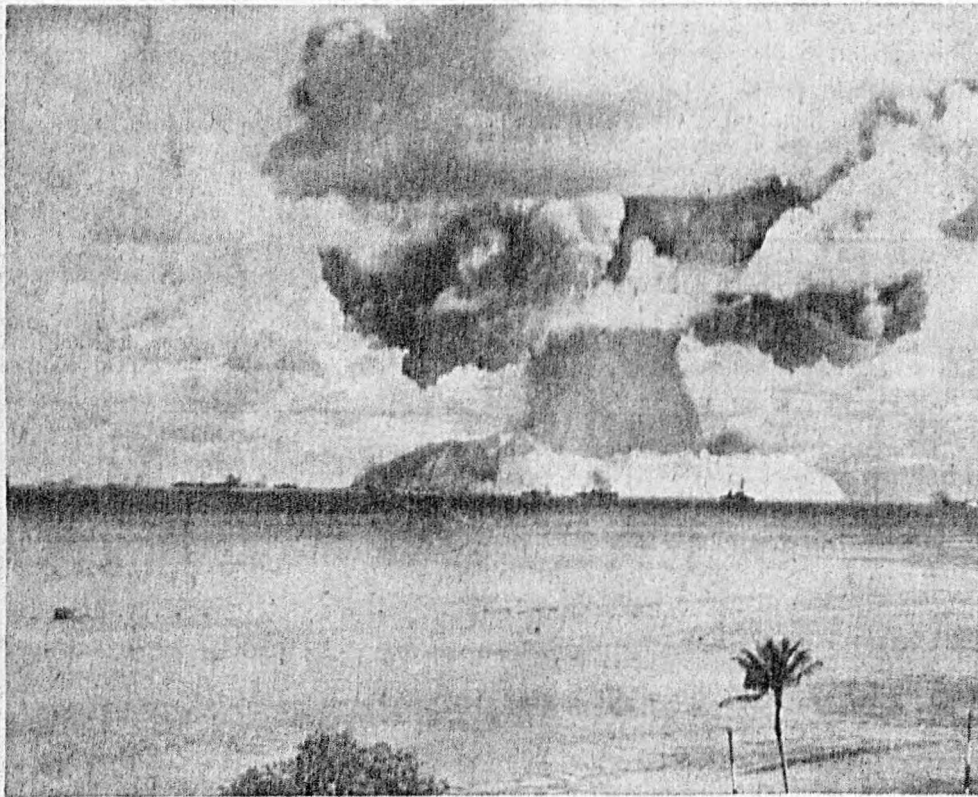
It is better that we should face the problem now, while people have war fresh in their minds.

HASTINGS: I see that. That is a most significant point.

★

ANDERSON: Yes, if this had happened after 20 years of peace, people might have had their senses so blunted by the passage of time, they might not realise its terrible potentialities for evil if it is not properly controlled.

EXPERIMENT...



This picture of the underwater test explosion at Bikini in 1946 was taken by an automatic camera on a nearby island.

In the report of the first test it was stated that the USS Nevada, the "bulls-eye" for the operation, had suffered only superficial damage, many of the goats and sheep on board being found alive.

Christian voices

The American "Catholic Worker" on the decision of the President to sanction the manufacture of the Hydrogen Bomb.

"The whole thing has become unreal and fantastic. It brings us to the conclusion that absolute pacifism is the only answer to total war. We live in a world of hate and we can only oppose it by going to the opposite extreme. As hate is expressed externally by war, so is love expressed externally by non-violence."

★

Following the news of the explosion of Britain's atomic bomb at Monte Bello the Society of Friends (Quakers) issued a call to the nation and the world "once more to consider the path they are taking."

"The confidence of Christ was not in violence, nor was his faith and defence the sword. Christians must seek another road. We know and affirm that there is a better way, the way of forgiveness, of reconciliation, of redemptive love," said the statement.

AND FLESH



A goat survivor of the Bikini test is given a blood transfusion aboard an American warship at Washington Navy Yard. The ship, the USS Burleson, arrived with a cargo of travel-weary pigs, rats and goats used in the experiment. This goat is suffering from anaemia. The animals were taken back to the US for scientific study to determine the effects of radioactivity, aftermath of the atomic blast.

What they said

Dr. Harry Barton, Director of the American Institute of Physics: "The development of the atomic bomb as a military weapon makes it an absolute necessity that the powers are used constructively and not to destroy mankind."

—August, 1945.

The Vatican: "The atomic bomb has made a deep impression in the Vatican City, not so much for the use already made of the new death instrument as for the sinister shadow the discovery casts over the future of humanity." —Press Bulletin, August 7, 1945.

President Truman: "I realise the tragic significance of the atomic bomb."

General Bradley, chairman of United States Joint Chiefs of Staff: "Today we know more about war than we know about peace. With the monstrous weapons man already has, humanity is in danger of being trapped in this world by its moral adolescence. Our knowledge of science has clearly outstripped our international capacity to control it."—April, 1952.

Sir James Chadwick, leader of the British group working on the production of the Hiroshima bomb: "Many of us at one time or another hoped it would not work... I often hoped myself that it would not work."

WITH STEEL...



This picture, released by the Atomic Energy Commission, shows the effect of the first Bikini explosion on the stern of the USS Nevada. She was lying 2,000 feet from Surface Zero.

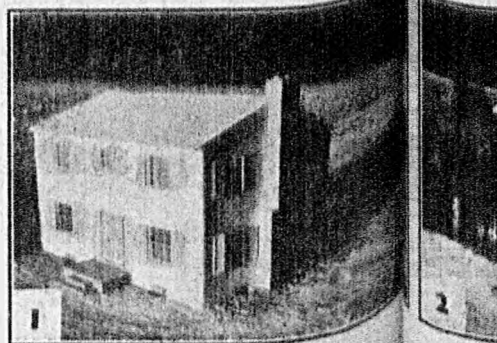
The most powerful atom bomb

The most powerful atom bomb ever exploded in the Nevada Desert (yesterday) and its flash was seen over the north, and in Mexico, 1,150 miles to the south.—Daily News

This house, erected to determine effects of atomic blast, was situated 3,500 feet from the explosion's centre in the Yucca Flat tests. The camera — 60 feet away — was enclosed in a two-inch lead sheath.

1. House shown by light of bomb before shock wave hit it. 2. Front of house beginning to burn from heat. 3. Roof lifting off and front caving in. 4. Roof nearly upright and debris flying. 5. Total wreckage.

Time between first and last picture: two and one third seconds.



If it happened in South London

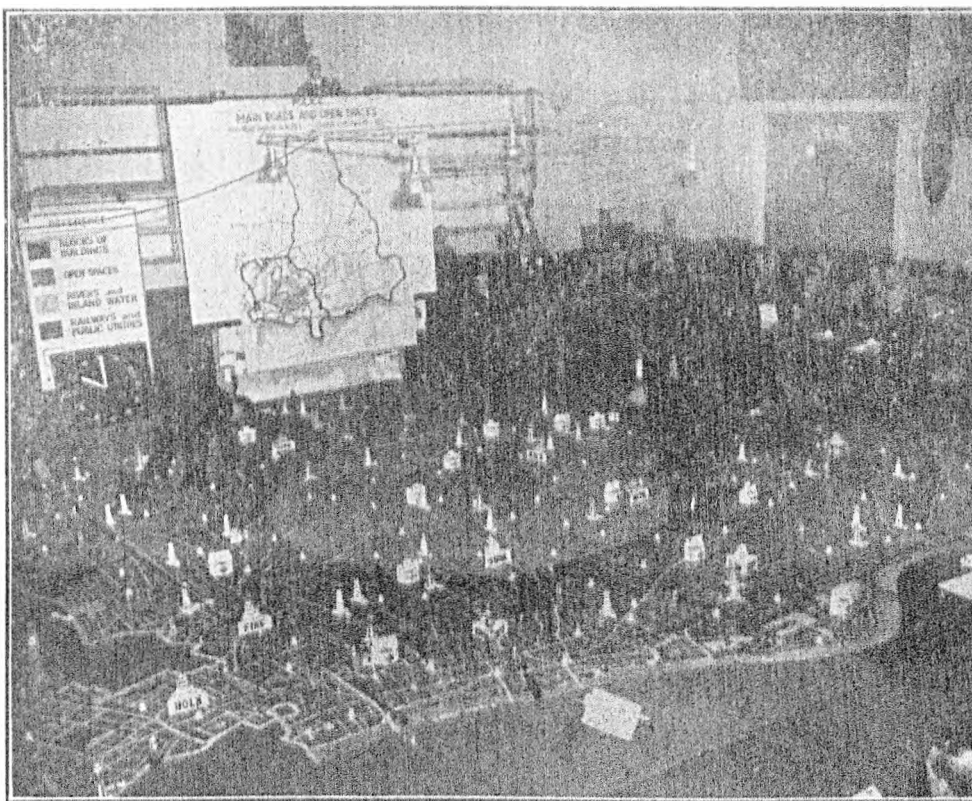
ASSESSING the probable damage caused by the bursting of a "nominal" bomb over a London district during tactical Civil Defence studies, Mr. E. C. Allen, principal scientific adviser to the Home Office, was reported by the Manchester Guardian of July 17, 1952, as having said: "That for the exercise, ground zero was assumed to be 200 yards to the south-west of Clapham Junction."

"Allowing for the evacuation of priority classes beforehand, the population in the affected area at the time of the explosion would be about 115,000 and, with warning of the attack, about 16,000 would be killed or trapped, and 3,000 injured."

"Some 18,000 houses would be destroyed or put beyond repair, 20,000 would be seriously damaged, and 50,000 less seriously damaged, while between 100,000 and 150,000 houses over a wide area would have broken ceilings, roofs and tiles."

"It was estimated that some 200,000 people would take to the streets, many of them because of fright and not because they were homeless. In the central area there would be a ring of fire about three-quarters of a mile wide, with streets obliterated beneath a sea of uniform debris of from five to eight feet high."

WHAT HAPPENS TO PEOPLE INSIDE THE RING?



London Civil Defence and Police Officers attending a tactical exercise at Finsbury Town Hall this year. They learned of the probable effects of an A-bomb bursting over Dalston. The map shows the probable area of devastation. Peace News office is situated near the bending man in the background.

Medical ethics and Civil Defence

SIR HENEAGE OGILVIE, consulting surgeon at Guy's Hospital, London, writing in the "Practitioner" in 1952 on the medical problems of Civil Defence, said:

"Bombing from the height of 50,000 feet, which is likely, may easily destroy the reception areas rather than the city at which it was aimed."

"The kind of conditions which we may have to face, and for which we must be prepared (for ideal conditions have already been well prepared for) are those in which a group of, say, ten doctors and 50 nurses, shaken and frightened by a recent attack of which they are the survivors, have been forced to open an emergency reception centre in a partly destroyed factory to which they have transported, with such help as could be obtained from civilians, as much as they could of the bedding, stores and equipment from a bombed reception hospital five miles away."

"The railways are destroyed, the roads are unusable, no news is coming through, and all is rumour and guesswork. A thousand patients, injured to various degrees, have been brought in as soon as the existence of a hospital in the new site was known, and more are arriving all the time."

On the problem of casualty priorities, Sir Heneage writes:

"When it is clear that it will be possible to offer the chance of survival to a proportion only of the injured, heart-breaking decisions must be made; but it is obviously right to treat three men who will recover with useful function in preference to one who may die in spite of surgery, or whose life, if he recovers, will be one of suffering."

PROBLEM: Shortage of Personnel

"Nearly half the peace-time strength of these volunteer services (CD) has now been enrolled, though the incidence of recruitment over the country is not altogether satisfactory and has lagged in the fire and rescue services."—British Government White Paper on Defence.

SOLUTION: "Voluntary Recruitment"

"The Civil Defence autumn recruiting campaign will be concentrated on a house-to-house canvass for volunteers as suggested by the Home Secretary."

"Various methods of approach are suggested, including delivery of personal letters to each householder... In the north of England, most success has been achieved with 'commando' tactics, in which the canvassers have arrived en masse in particular streets, complete with Civil Defence and Fire Service vehicles, and knocking simultaneously at all doors. This helps to create at once a community sense, which is to be part of the campaign under the slogan, 'Join with your neighbours in the Civil Defence Corps.'"—Times, August 16, 1952.

THE FUTURE?

H for Horror

THE NEW YORK TIMES: "It would not be pleasant to live in a world in which the United States were compelled to slaughter millions of people elsewhere with the H-bomb."

"It would, however, be just a little more pleasant than having our own people slaughtered by H-bombs thrown in from outside."

—January 29, 1950.

★ The Mayor of Hiroshima: Commenting on President Truman's H-bomb production decision, the Mayor of Hiroshima, Shinzo Hamai, said that if the world knew the magnitude of the disaster the atom bomb had brought to his city it would not be difficult to prevent the use of the H-bomb.

—February 2, 1950.

★ Einstein: The idea of achieving security through armament was a dangerous illusion, said Professor Einstein, speaking in New York.

After President Truman authorised work on the H-bomb, every step appeared as an unavoidable consequence. In the end there would come more and more clearly, general annihilation.

—February 12, 1950.

★ Joseph and Stewart Alsop, writing in the New York Herald Tri-

ATOM AGE MAN



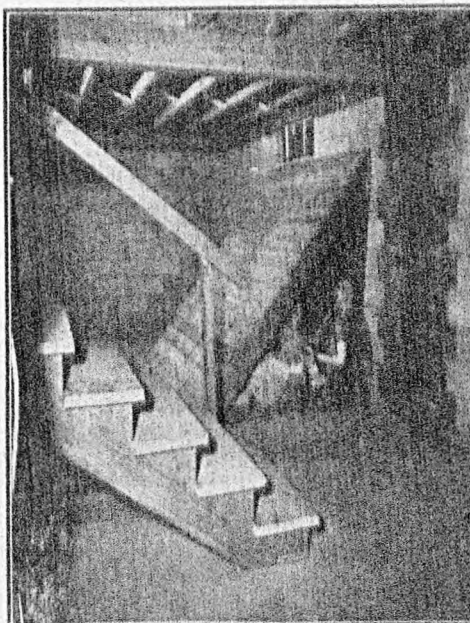
A member of an emergency monitoring team in an atomic energy plant wearing protective equipment and carrying the alpha-beta-gamma survey instrument he would use if called upon to survey a plant area in case of the accidental spread of contaminated material.

bune on the reported test explosion of an American hydrogen bomb at Eniwetok: "Remember further, that this bomb tested at Eniwetok was only a primitive first model. After this test, we can no longer doubt that men can make what has been defined as 'the absolute weapon'—the ten-megaton bomb, with a force of 10 million tons of TNT. Bombs larger than this, in fact, can probably be built if there is use for them. Thus the Eniwetok explosion in November radically changed the whole world we live in, and the personal situations of every one of us. And that is why the people have a right to know about these developments, although in almost every way they are too terrible, too fear-inspiring, to bear thinking about for long."

—January 9, 1953.

[Photos: International News; U.S. Navy.

SAFE AS HOUSES



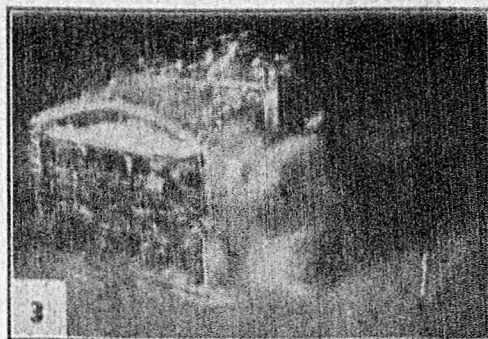
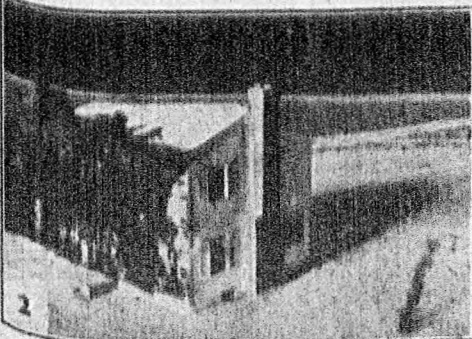
A dummy mother and child who "took precautions" against atomic bombing. They were part of a Civil Defence test arranged in connection with the atomic experiments which took place at Yucca Flat, Nevada, this year. The dummies were reported to have survived the explosion, unlike others who did not prepare for it. What would have happened to the dummies had their home been the one illustrated below, the report does not say.

Research worker's viewpoint

In a letter to The Listener (July 23, 1953) Mr. David Rendell explains why he is at work on atomic research.

"Modern society is organised for the production of material wealth and the gain of physical knowledge. These seem to me to be very poor substitutes for spiritual happiness and eternal life, but society has chosen its objectives and can only be deflected from them if it is first destroyed. Curiously enough, it employs me to assist in developing more efficient means for its own destruction. By undertaking this I am paying it the duty I owe. I am providing myself with a reasonable livelihood and, who knows, I am perhaps contributing to ultimate good."

THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED FEET FROM GROUND ZERO

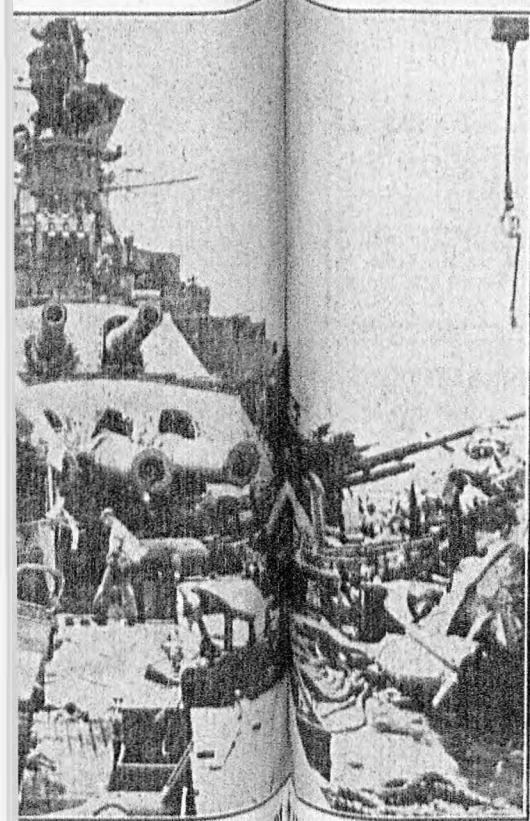


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H STEEL...



Atomic Energy Commission of the United States in 1950
ect of the first Bikini explosion, the stern deck of the
feet from Surface Zero, the point of the explosion.

it powerful atom bomb

b ever exploded in the United States was dropped from a
sterday) and its flash was seen from Canada, 1,000 miles to
iles to the south.—Daily News, June 5, 1953.

THREE



THE CHALLENGE OF PEACE

Gandhi and the Atom Bomb

Margaret Bourke-White, of Life Magazine, had an interview with Mahatma Gandhi on the day he was assassinated. The following is part of the conversation which is reported by the interviewer to have taken place between them:

AMERICANS, I told him were also filled with forebodings, particularly about the atomic bomb. "How would you use non-violence against the atomic-bomb," I asked.

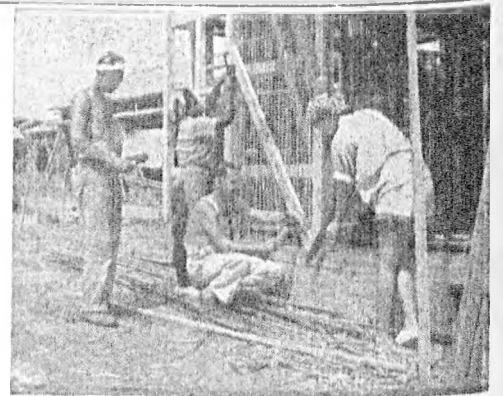
"Ah, ah," he answered, "How shall I answer that?" After a moment he said, "by prayerful action."

"You would pray while the planes are overhead?" I asked.

Gandhi shook his head. "I said prayerful action. I would come out in the open and let the pilot see that I had not the face of evil against him." Gandhi paused. "The pilot would not see my face at such a height," he said, "but that longing in our hearts that he won't come to harm would reach up to him and his eyes would be opened."

—Indian Opinion, 1948.

M. K.
GANDHI



HOUSES FOR HIROSHIMA

During the War American bombers destroyed more than two million Japanese homes. Ten million people became homeless. Many are still living in crude shacks or in the packed homes of friends and relatives.

As an act of reconciliation a team of young Americans left for Japan in 1949 to help build homes for the citizens of Hiroshima. The cost of their scheme was borne by interested Americans and was under the care of the Japan Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends (Quakers). This picture shows left to right Floyd Schmoee, Daisy Tibbs, Emory Andrews and Ruth Jenkins at work on one of the first four houses they built with the aid of Japanese students.

THE WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL, embracing 42 affiliated organisations in 29 countries (including the Peace Pledge Union in Great Britain) and individual members in 59 other countries, making a total of 88 countries in all five continents, has since its foundation in 1921, stood for the renunciation of all war by every one of its members. It therefore particularly welcomes the opportunity of sending on the eighth anniversary of the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima (which inaugurated a new era of frightfulness in modern warfare) a message of peace and good will to men and women everywhere, and asks them to consider whether the time has not come for them to join and strengthen that minority of pioneers the world over who have accepted its declaration:

"War is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war and to strive for the removal of all causes of war."

THE WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middx, England.

From South Africa, Greetings to Japan.

May you continue to set an example to the world of the peace and prosperity that result from the way of forgiveness and disarmament. Through much suffering you have won wisdom and strength, which you are sharing with peace-workers everywhere.

Ella B. Elder, Hon. Secretary,
South African Fellowship of Reconciliation

Greetings to all from the—

Palo Alto Peace Club

PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA

on World Peace Day

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE (LONDON)

sends greetings to peace workers throughout the world

"with hands outstretched—with-out arms—give service in the spirit of reconciliation"

(A Quaker poster)

A WELCOME TO WORK under simple living conditions without salary in international voluntary work camps for refugees, for communities in need—after floods, etc. It is extended to all men and women who want to build peace in a small way. Last year 3,000 volunteers worked in camps in Europe, America, Asia, Africa. Further information from the Association of International Work Camps for Peace, 110 Avenue Mozart, Paris 16, France.

GREETINGS FROM A GROUP OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE PACIFISTS

"Let us now become channels for God's infinite spiritual forces which alone can prevent a recurrence of Hiroshima."

THE WAR RESISTERS' LEAGUE USA

expresses its deep sense of shame over America's atrocity at Hiroshima, comparable in its way to gas chambers, civilian bombardment and mass deportations. To end atrocities we must work to

END WAR.

War Resisters' League
5 Beekman St., N.Y. 38, N.Y.

TO ALL PEACE WORKERS...

Our warmest greetings and expression of our deep appreciation of all you are doing in the cause of peace.—M. Sadayasu, Peace Library, WRI Kyoto Branch, Ryoanji Temple, Ukyo-ward, Kyoto, Japan.

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, on this anniversary, re-expresses its deep feeling of sympathy and warm friendship for the people of Hiroshima. It is our hope and prayer that peoples the world over will use this occasion to re-dedicate themselves to strive for understanding and lasting peace.

SERVAS (Peace-Builders) send greetings to all their "Open-Doors" and to all past and present Work-Study-Travellers, and an invitation to others to take part in the movement as travellers or hosts.

W. Esma Burrough (Secretary)
135 Foden Rd., Birmingham 22a

To all humanity, greetings of fellowship and peace from THE NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE GROUP whose members refuse to be conscripted or to work in war industry and are pressing for a non-violent foreign policy.

79 Lordship Park, London, N.16

PEACE GREETINGS

from the Staff and voluntary workers at Peace News office and Housmans Bookshop to readers everywhere

Evelyn Aldridge, Clara Annesley, Olwen Battersby, Rosetta Bence, Doris Boswell, Eileen and Hugh Brock, Stella Cripps, Bill Crofts, Trafor Davies, Dora Dawtry, Bert Down.

Mona Faraker, Mervyn Fry, Constance Gibbs, George Gregory, Dorothy Harris, George Hayes, Phyllis Harts, Doris and Len Melville, Harry Mister, Margaret Morton.

Marella Newman, Margie and May Osborne, Dorothy Owen, George Plume, Florence Rivers, Francis Rona, Henry Rose, Jack Salkind, Dorothy Scott.

J. Allen Skinner, Mrs. Stanley, Suzanne Stephen, Olive and Stanley Underwood, Tom Wardle, Mavis Waumsley, Truda Welch, Doris Wheeler, Constance Willis.

We MOURN the victims of Hiroshima
We GREET peace-lovers everywhere
We PLEDGE ourselves to abolish conscription as our contribution to peace
NO CONSCRIPTION COUNCIL.
Creathfield St., London, W.C.1. Terminus 3910

GREETINGS

to all who seek peace

from the British Peace Committee

On behalf of our members I send this greeting and a pledge of our continued work to achieve a world in which true peace and freedom may be established and maintained.

Professor K. Lonsdale, FRS
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
British Section, 29 Gt. James St., W.C.1

To tackle the roots of violence...

"It is obvious that pacifism cannot be a complete answer to militarism unless we are able to show an effective alternative to armed defence..."

"It is therefore necessary to organise defence based on non-violence which admits of no defeat. We promise that serious and sustained attempts shall be made to establish in different countries units which should be composed of individuals who have full faith in the superiority of non-violence over violence, and are prepared to discipline their own lives..."

"The units would be fully active during peace time by tackling the roots of violence in social, economic, educational and administrative spheres... They would also try to meet crisis situations non-violently in their own localities... not quietly waiting for a conflagration to break out, but trying from day to day to create conditions which would prevent conflict..."

from the Statement of the World Pacifist Meeting, December, 1949.



RIGHT: Delegates to the World Pacifist Meeting assembled for the opening session at Santiniketan. Front row, left to right: P. M. Sekiya (Japan); Heberto Sein (Mexico); A. C. Barrington (New Zealand); two Indian delegates; Second row: J. C. Kumarappa (India); A. Kallinen (Finland); Aage Jorgensen (Denmark); Pastor J. J. Buskes (Holland); Dr. Walter Zander.



HIROSHIMA
American bombers destroyed
Japanese homes. Many
became homeless. Many
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ends and relatives.
A team of young
Japan in 1949 to help
citizens of Hiroshima.
The picture shows
Schmoe, Daisy Tibbs,
Ruth Jenkins at work
four houses they built
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in Europe, America, Asia,
from the Association of
for Peace, 110 Avenue

ICE PACIFISTS
rees which alone



COMMONS DEBATE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

By Owen Battersby

"I DO not think there is any doubt that the majority of the men who go to the courts martial and who undergo civil prosecution are sincere," said Fenner Brockway when opening the debate on "Conscientious Objectors" in the House of Commons on July 23.

Fenner Brockway himself took the "absolutist" position in World War I.

"In wartime, particularly the attitude of the conscientious objector brings a contumely which it does require some moral strength to meet, and even in peace time the effects upon employment and upon the prospects of work are very considerable, and my plea tonight is that necessary revisions should be made in the present system.

Summing up the position of conscientious objection in Great Britain today he said:

"This acceptance of the principle of the rights of a conscience has caused Great

Britain to lead the whole world in the liberality of its exemptions of conscientious objectors . . . The sincerity of these men has been recognised by the tribunals in 45,000 cases out of 64,981 who have applied.

"I have given the Minister the points I wish to raise under this heading and they are five.

"First. The conflicting interpretations of the Act by the tribunals.

"The greatest issue here is whether the Act exempts only those who are absolute pacifists, or whether it exempts others as well. I was representing a conscientious objector at the London Appellate Tribunal when the Minister of Labour and National Service took a test case upon this issue. He won the case in the sense that the man I was representing was not granted exemption, but lost the case in the sense that the Appellate Tribunal declined to say that conscientious objection should be limited only to the pacifists in all circumstances.

Local and Appellate Conflict

"I think that one need spend little time in arguing that point with the committee. The objection can be conscientious even if it does relate to particular wars . . . Nevertheless, although the London Appellate Tribunal has accepted that principle the Fulham local tribunal persistently refuses to accept it.

"Judge Hargreaves has used these words:

This tribunal has always taken the view that we cannot grant exemption to persons who have objection to particular wars but the objection must be to military service as such, regardless of whom we are fighting. I know that fighting a particular war may involve conscience, but our view of the wording of the Act is such that we have no power to grant exemption in such cases.

"The effect is," Fenner Brockway continued "that the Fulham tribunal rules in that way, the cases go on to the London Appellate Tribunal and the London Appellate Tribunal reverses the decisions. It has varied 51 per

cent of the decisions which have come from local tribunals on that and other points.

"The second point which I want to raise is that of the personnel of the tribunal.

"If I may use the word they are becoming 'stale' in their jobs. Only last month the chairman of a local tribunal died at the age of 83, and those who have gone before that particular tribunal will appreciate the point that I am trying to make . . .

"I want to suggest to the Minister that he should secure advice from local people attending the tribunal, from ministers of religion, from social workers and, maybe, from members of the local university staff: and that there should be a review of the setup of the present personnel."

"The third point I want to make concerns the venue of these tribunals.

"Again and again as these Measures have gone through the House, we have had the promise of the Ministry that the proceedings at these tribunals should be friendly, informal, intimate and without rigidities of the ordinary court of law . . . I want to draw the attention of the Minister to some exceptions."

Fenner Brockway here cited the examples at Fulham, Glasgow and Leeds, in all of which it is "absolutely impossible to have the informal atmosphere which we were promised."

Fenner Brockway continued:

"The fourth point also relates to the loss of informal atmosphere in some tribunals.

"The Leeds and Glasgow local tribunals, and the Edinburgh Appellate Tribunal require that the oath should be taken from all who appear before them. I am suggesting that it destroys that informal atmosphere which was promised to us.

"My last point . . . is the decreasing extent to which absolute exemptions are given . . .

"Last year the percentage of those who received absolute unconditional exemption fell to 2.2. From what I know of them, many of the men who take this attitude (of refusing all alternative service) are the most sincere among the ranks of the conscientious objectors."

Cat and Mouse

Speaking of "Cat and Mouse" treatment (repeated prosecution) of conscientious objectors Fenner Brockway said:

" . . . there are frequent cases of men who refuse medical examination before they go into the forces. It is a logical attitude that, if one objects to military service, one ought not to be content to take the medical examination to enter military service. In these instances there are still frequently three summonses for refusal and three punishments.

The major defect

"I now turn to a major defect in our present system. It relates to National Service men who pass into National Service at the age of 18 for two years and then have to do three and a half years part time service. It is now proposed that they should be in the Reserve for five years during a national emergency.

"The plea I wish to make is that men who have passed through National Service and have reached the age of 20 should have the opportunity to go before a tribunal as conscientious objectors before they do their three and a half years part-time service. This principle has already been recognised in the Z Reservists who are called up part time. Why should it not be recognised in the case of these men?

Continued on back page

HULL PEACE PLEDGE UNION re-affirms its faith:

"Wars will cease when men refuse to fight"

We send our best wishes to Peace News. If peace lovers would give in peace time a tithe of the energy and service which they are prepared to give to resisting war when it comes, a new era for our cause would be here. When war comes it is too late.

Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ, 8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex.

"Lift in Christ's name His Cross against the sword."

—Whittier

FROM NANCY AND BOB GRAY
to those whom Christ has called,
Greetings and an appeal:

Peace News needs YOUR help to spread the Gospel of Peace. Will you take some extra copies each week and make this possible?

Please respond now that the message of the Gospel of Peace may be heard at this time.

Duntish Farm, Buckland Newton,
Dorchester.

"If blood be shed, let it be our blood"—Gandhi

THE DAY the first atom bomb was exploded, killing and maiming tens of thousands of human beings in a few seconds, is one that should be always remembered with the same sense of shock and shame that shook the whole world at the time.

UNFORTUNATELY little of that shock remains, and the efforts both of this country, and others, to make even better and bigger bombs of the same type, shows no sense of shame at all.

TERROR of dreadful weapons will never induce the right atmosphere for peace, since fear is a mere incitement to "go one better."

REPENTANCE is not easy, and is useless without reciprocal action. All weapons, however terrible and terrifying, are part of war; this day must be dedicated to the renunciation of war.

SYBIL MORRISON, Chairman.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

★ DIARY ★

This is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete as possible as we reasonably can, and therefore we organise events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

ABBREVIATIONS: Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, APF; Fellowship of Reconciliation, FoR; Methodist Peace Fellowship, MPF; National Peace Council, NPC; Peace with Honour Council, PWC; Peace Pledge Union, PPU; Society of Friends, SoF.

Friday, July 31

ASHEVILLE, N. CAROLINA: Allen H.S., 21 College St. FoR National Conference. Workshop three days previously. AFoR.

Sunday, August 2

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Open-air meeting. Queens Park Gate. Every Sunday. PPU.

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m. Speakers' Corner. Marble Arch. Open-air meeting. PPU.

Tuesday, August 4

STREATHAM: 8 p.m. 31 Runnymede. Meetings to re-establish Streatham PPU Group. All interested invited. Future meetings every first Monday in month, 8 p.m., at above address. Secretary, Irene Bird. PPU.

Friday, August 7

CROSBY, LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.; 5 Esplanade (off Gt. Georges Rd.). Business and discussion. Meetings 7th day of each month. Secretary: Sheila White, 44 Downhills Rd., Liverpool, 23. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 1.30 p.m.; St. Martin-in-the-Fields. Intervention service for peace. By Michael Seal. APF, FoR, PPU.

SARGATUCK, MICHIGAN: Westminster FoR National Conference. Workshop three days previously. AFoR.

Sunday, August 9

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Open-air meeting. Queens Park Gate. Every Sunday. PPU.

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m. Speakers' Corner. Marble Arch. Open-air meeting. PPU.

Wednesday, August 12
FINSBURY PARK: 7 p.m. 3 Blackstock Road, N.4. Discussion on future plans. Non-violent Resistance Group.

Thursday, August 13
LONDON, W.C.1: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields: open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman. PPU.

Friday, August 14
DENVER, COLORADO: Red Rocks Camp, Morrison, Colorado. FoR National Conference. Workshop three days previously. AFoR.

Saturday, August 15
HIGH WYCOMBE: 3.30 p.m.; 6 Terry Rd. Garden Meeting. Speaker, Connie Jones. Bring and Buy Stall. PPU.

Sunday, August 16
OLYMPIA, WASHINGTON: Family Fellowship Camp all week in Greenwood Christian Conference Grounds. FoR National Conference at end of week. AFoR.

TRIBUNALS
Tuesday, July 28
SCOTTISH LOCAL: Small Sheriff Court, Justiciary Bldg., 1 Clyde St., Jocelyn Sq., Glasgow. Session commences 10.30 a.m.

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MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Library and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

KING'S WHICH House Church, Duke Street, near Bond Street Tube. Sunday at 7 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Collman, MA, B. Litt.

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EMRY'S HUGHES' "The Crown and the Cash," 71d. post free (5s. doz.) from Housmans Bookshop, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

Campaign Corner

HOLIDAYS AHoy!

PAUSE a moment before leaping into the train.

Have you left the backdoor suitably ajar for those hungry unfortunates, the burglars? You will know from the Press headlines how much they appreciate a meal to help them on their wealth-sharing way.

Is there a note on the front door requesting the milkman to decant his daily bottle into the cat's saucer?

You have the spades and pails? No father's holiday is complete without them.

You have stopped the Daily — Ah! that reminds you . . . WHAT SHALL I DO ABOUT PEACE NEWS?

Simple. Tell Mr. Newsvendor to put it on show while you're away, and sell it if he can. He can charge your account if no one has the discrimination to seize it immediately it appears. If it sells while you're dabbling in the briny he can get an extra one regularly. Excellent idea, eh? But mind you fix it up the night before you go, and don't forget to leave your last copy on the dining room table for that uninvited guest.

Happy holiday, and may all your new friends subscribe for Peace News! H. F. M.

N.B.—No, We can't leave it there. You MUST do something about this splendid Peace Day Number. Send half a crown and we'll post a dozen to your "digs." You'll have great fun planting them in strategic places. But if—like us—you're still sweltering at the bench you will be taking a more serious view of the obligations this tragic anniversary lays upon us all.

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ATTLEE TAKES THE LEAD Reciprocal Surrender

THE Government did not come out very well from the two days debate on Foreign Affairs last week.

It was so very obvious that Sir Winston Churchill's dramatic declaration for a conference with the Russians "at the highest level, free of a rigid agenda and without a cumbrous array of officials," had been watered down to Lord Salisbury's acceptance of a meeting of Foreign Ministers with all the encumbrances to which Sir Winston had objected.

For the first time for many years the Labour Party emerged from a Foreign Affairs debate with credit.

Tired of armaments

Mr. Attlee put the whole thing in its proper perspective when he said:

"I suggest that the only possible way of discussing this matter is in the larger context of the future of a peaceful Europe."

"What we need is a Europe where armaments are reduced."

"I do not think it is any good proposing that we should have by itself a Germany kept down to a low level of armaments. We tried that before and it did not work. It is only possible if we are to get some agreement for a reduction of armaments all round."

"Is that impossible? I think the Prime Minister's speech indicated that he thought it was quite possible that in Russia they were getting tired of the burden of armaments and wanted to raise the standard of life of their people."

"I am quite sure that on the Continent of Europe and in this country we are tired of this burden of armaments."

"I am sure they are in the United States of America."

"Everybody knows the difficulties of disarmament and of approaching disarmament but I do not think they are more difficult than what is set out in the White Paper, this attempt to reach agreement on Germany by itself."

Waiting for a new start

Later in his speech Mr. Attlee declared:

"I believe that everywhere the world is waiting for a new start. I believe we thought we had got it. The Prime Minister's sudden illness was a thing which one could not foresee, but I really do not think that this White Paper is a continuance of that attempt to get a new spirit in the world."

Mr. Attlee is still in favour of "continuing to deal through strength" whatever that may mean he added:

"But I do not think that any of us wants to go on building and building and building it up. We would much rather get at agreement if we could get it at a reasonable level."

That can only mean that Mr. Attlee is now prepared to consider a halt to the rearmament race and to discuss the possibilities of disarmament with the Russians now.

But is the present Government prepared to do that?

Well let us wait and see. I doubt very much whether there will be any attempt to reduce our rearmament programme but that on the contrary the Government will go on building up our armaments as usual.

If the Russian Government takes up this attitude and for the same reasons then the arms race and the cold war will go on as if Sir Winston Churchill had not made his dramatic speech.

Still playing the old tune

One of the most damaging attacks on the Government during the debate came from Sir Robert Boothby (Con. Aberdeenshire), British delegate to the Council of Europe:

"Yesterday all that the Chancellor of the Exchequer could really do was to report to the House that the old tune was still being played. He could do no other; and, indeed, he played it as well as it now can be played. The fact remains that it is out of date, and will no longer do. (HON. MEMBERS: "Hear, hear.")

"I want to say this in all sincerity. Applied to the present international situation it can be interpreted, left just as it is, as a demand for unconditional surrender on the part of the Russians in advance. (HON. MEMBERS: "Hear, hear.") I wish hon. Members would not cheer my remarks. It upsets me. As I was saying, it could be interpreted as a demand for unconditional surrender on the part of the Russians in advance of a conference. That is not the

intention. We all know in our hearts that it is not the intention, but that is what it sounded like."

In winding up for the Opposition, Mr. Herbert Morrison said of Germany:

"I hope that in due course she will be united and democratic and subject to popular elections and that she will become a loyal member of the United Nations."

"I do not want her to make military alliances with either the East or the West, particularly of the old military order. I want her to be a good member of the United Nations, eligible to take part in its subsidiary organisations, supporting a policy calculated not to protect the peace of particular countries but to protect the peace of the world."

This is exactly the opposite of what America wants Germany to do.

President Eisenhower wants a military alliance with the Germans before coming to any agreement with the Russians, and that is precisely what the Russians do not want.

It is difficult to see how the Labour Party can continue to support NATO and the European Defence Community in the light of Mr. Morrison's declaration.

The position of boy objectors

● FROM PAGE SEVEN

"The formative years of one's mind and attitude do not end at the age of twenty; they are between the ages of 18 and 25. The number of men concerned at present is small. There are 16 men who have gone through their National Service, have been called up for part time service and have refused. Twelve have been court-martialled, and the Advisory Committee have recommended discharge from the Army in nine cases."

Fenner Brockway then drew the attention of the House to the case of boys who join the forces when they are 14 and 15 years of age.

"There are 12,000 boys involved," he said. "They have no opportunity at all of going to the tribunals to express conscientious objection if such an objection . . ."

MR. THORP, Secretary of State for War: "It is a fact . . . that not a single instance of this having occurred has yet become known."

MR. BROCKWAY: "I am sorry but I will give the right Hon. Gentleman two instances."

One is DANIEL LEE, of Colchester. He enlisted with the army in 1948, at the age of 15 and was enlisted for 12 years service from the age of 18. He developed objection on Christian grounds refused orders and was sentenced on Feb. 7, to 28 days detention. When he reached 19 years of age he disobeyed orders again and was sentenced to 94 days detention on Mar. 9. The advisory tribunal on May 18, recommended his discharge."

MR. GEORGE WIGG (Lab., Dudley): "What my hon. friend is putting forward is the case of a regular soldier."

MR. BROCKWAY: "I am giving the case of a boy who enlisted at the age of 15. My appeal to this House is that boys who join the army at so young an age should go before a tribunal. This boy of 15 was to serve for 12 years. He developed his objection on Christian grounds, not when he was 19 but before he was 19, though his court martial took place Feb. 7, when he had reached the age of 19. I submit that illustrates my case."

Court-martial unnecessary

"The second case is that of R. GARRUTT, of Birmingham, who in July, 1951, at the age of 17 volunteered for the R.A.F. for five years service and four years on the reserve. He served 15 months and went absent without leave in October, 1952. He was 18 and he had conscientious objections. He was arrested in November, court-martialled in January, 1953, and sentenced to 112 days' detention. The tribunal recommended his discharge on April 27, when he had already served the full sentence. There is a boy who took that action when he was 18 years of age."

The appeal which I am submitting is that of boys of 14, 15, 16 or 17 should have the opportunity to go before a tribunal, which is now denied them for they must go through the procedure of refusing orders, being court-martialled and serving a term of imprisonment before they have the right to go before a tribunal.

"My final appeal," Mr. Brockway concluded "is that Great Britain, having taken the lead in this more liberal treatment of those who are conscientious objectors, should seek to get the same principle adopted and added to the Declaration of Human Rights, Article 18, of which already states: 'Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion.'"

MR. G. R. H. ROGERS (Lab., N. Kensington): calling attention to the case of a National Service man said:

"I know a young man who has the honour of being one of my constituents . . . This young man served his two years national service and then discovered, I believe sincerely, that he had developed conscientious objections. So when he was called up for his annual fortnight's service he declined to serve and was sentenced to 42 days detention."

This year again he was served with a training notice. He refused to obey it, was arrested and was sentenced to 90 days detention on June 27, . . .

It seems to me that it ought to be possible for a young man, who has demonstrated his sincerity by preferring to go to prison instead of serving his fortnight's annual service, to go direct to the tribunal without

A viciously wanton provocation has been checked, challenged and heavily punished . . . It was not to be expected that Mr. Rhee would be happy at the prospect of leaving the unification of his shattered country to efforts of persecution on an untractable foe . . . The present line of division is a national and a geographical offence against reason, but the launching of a full-scale war to abolish that division is a greater offence; it might even be counted a crime against humanity."

—Daily Telegraph, July 27, 1953.

A THREE years war has been halted; a cease-fire has been agreed; a truce has been signed, but it still remains to make peace.

There has been neither victory nor defeat, neither surrender on one side nor on the other; on the contrary it has been decided to "call it off" while North Koreans and United Nations still face each other fully armed on each side of the 38th parallel.

It seems a little late in the day to discover that this 38th parallel is an offence against reason, but if it is also a crime against humanity to have attempted, by war, to alter it, it would seem fairly obvious that both sides have been guilty of that crime.

To say that Syngman Rhee naturally would not wish to leave the unification of his country to the chance of persuading an "intractable foe" is to suggest that Korea is the property of Rhee, and to imply that Rhee himself has been open to reason and persuasion.

This has, so far, not been apparent; what is apparent is that the United Nations has

been supporting for three years an intransigent man possessed of a fixed idea; the idea that the only force can unite Korea. Perhaps, after all, it is not so strange that the North Koreans may have had the same idea.

That this could not have been settled, should have been settled, without war adds to the tragedy of this devastated country. The massive and ruthless bombing has left in ruins the towns and industries; destroyed the farms and crops, and created a great new problem of poverty and famine and displaced persons.

Now that the smoke and dust of crash and din of war is quieted, the extent of the disaster will begin to be visible. It will, no doubt, be considered expedient to deceive ourselves with a soothing word "rehabilitation," and to talk glibly of "healing wounds," just as we deadened imagination in the last world war by reference to beings buried alive and blown to pieces, "the bombed out," and men and boys drowned in the sea as "tons of shipping lost."

It is not possible to give back the dead to the bereaved: it will be many many years before houses can be built again, and farms and lands recovered and the problem of feeding and housing those who have not lost their homes and families, but lost their way in life, is staggering in its immensity and its complexity.

These things can be organised and, given some respite, can be gradually effected, but there is something much more difficult to overcome than the difficulties of rehabilitation, the intransigence of Rhee, or the inability of Communists, and that is the anger and hatred in the hearts of innocent people, who have been made the victims of quarrel between two allies in a world war.

There is an inclination on the part of people to protest that the atom bomb was used in Korea, as though that were in some way a good mark for the U.N. though the smallest use of a normal intelligence would show that to use it in such a small country would probably have succeeded in destroying the users as well as the intended victims. There was no hesitation in experimenting with the new weapon, napalm, and these things are not easily forgotten.

The constant protestations, mouthed on radios and poured from our Press, designed to assure the world that a great sacrifice has been made in checking and challenging Communist provocation, will find no echo in the hearts of the dead, and no response in the aching hearts of the survivors in Korea.

It is to be hoped that if any lesson has been learned it will be not that aggression does not pay, but that war does not pay. Neither side has surrendered, both sides have agreed to stop exactly where they started. It would, with question, have been possible to have agreed not to begin.

If this is understood and accepted, the outset then the negotiations of the future may lead to peace, and the world will be saved from annihilation.

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